[711] if they had cut the rope higher up, the woman would have come
824 out beautiful, and then all Indians would be white and beautiful" (Lehmann-Nitsche 6, 195, 196). As we can see, "white" and "beautiful" are clearly equated in this myth.

826 Just as most Tapirapé do not fit their own ideal of beauty with regard to skin color, they do not fit it either with regard to stature, for while most of them are small, they like large men.

They also like a body where none of the parts provided by
[304] nature are missing, except for the hair, which is cut on specific occasions, and the body hair, which is carefully plucked. For this reason, namely, for esthetic motives, Chief Kamairabó would not allow one of his incisors to be removed, although it was quite loose and the source of frequent complaints on his part.

Like most Brazilian Indians who do not yet live in close
291 [711] and continuous contact with the Whites, the Tapirapé, both men and women, go altogether naked. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] And like most Indians in this country, the Tapirapé always go barefoot. The men merely wear the penis sheath and sometimes the waist cord.

When I asked the Tapirapé for the name of their penis
711 sheath, someone first told me the word nohó. This is the name
•192 given to the penis in Karajá, but those Indians do not use a sheath. They tie the prepuce just over the glans with a cotton cord that they call noodakún (Krause 2, 204). Later I heard among the Tapirapé the word cherakuichivohúa to designate "my penis sheath," from cherakui, "my penis," and húa, which is related to the word for "leaf." [Ed., the first paragraph of p. 84 is omitted.]

291 [287] [105:84] The penis sheath of the Tapirapé is made of a strip of inner bark, from one and a half to two centimeters wide, taken from the stalk of the central leaf of a palm called pinavé by these Indians and simply "palm tree" by the non-Indian population of the Araguaia. As a rule, each man possesses a number of these strips, hung in bundles and rolls on the walls of his hut.

To make the sheath, the strip is folded so that its tips nearly join. Then the tips are slipped together into the resulting knot.
[531] This produces a funnel with oblique walls, sometimes adorned with a few burns made with lightly applied live coals (Photo. 20). A special device prevents the funnel from opening too easily: before

261
[11] swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most
302 South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of carefully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer to this procedure as ekupaé. They remove body hair by covering it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers. They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers.
[493] To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain gram plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (3)] which is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The Indian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger, while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down. A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which includes a detailed description of the use of Streptogyne crinita Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

304 [107:114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only.
[88] They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until marriage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation
[827] to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." According to Wagley (4, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in
751 order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible
114 danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his
304 chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in 4, 72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampitíua.

304 The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it
413 makes, namely, chainíua. It is a triangular gourd fragment
● [192]

304 171 182 It should be pointed out further that tamooing as a badge of the marriageable girl is found in South America not only in such widely separated regions as Guiana and Paraguay, but also among tribes belonging to such distinct linguistic families as the Karaib [Carib] and the Tupí. [Ed., end of Vol. 107.]

302 186 [108:121] Body painting is widely used among the Tapirapé. In this respect, however, there are differences dictated by sex, age, and the particular individual involved. The colors used are: black, obtained from the juice of the genipap (chenipáua in Tapirapé), the fruit of a tree of the Rubiaceae family (Genipa americana, Lin.); and red extracted from the pulp of urucú, the fruit of a shrub of the Bixaceae family (Bixa orellana, Lin.).

[192] The Tapirapé, too, call it urukú, lending the vowel a sound that lies between u and a closed o. The manufacture of the paste derived from this fruit is not as simple as the obtention of genipap juice and will be described in Chapter 10 [Tr., apparently not published].

[171] The genipap is simply chewed, as Staden (v. 3) related of the Tupinambá, and the juice is left in a gourd. Among the Tapirapé,

[182] both men and women do this work, allowing the juice to run directly from their mouths into the container. The liquid is clear, like water, and turns black upon drying. The juice can only be used as a dye when the fruit is almost ripe, at the time when it stops growing, for the staining quality vanishes when the rind turns brownish and the pulp grows soft. This dye, according to Staden

302 (ibid.) and [108:122] Soares de Sousa (215), lasts for nine days on the skin and cannot be washed off before then. I must say, however, that on my skin it did not endure more than two or three days.

Among the women, body painting with genipap was so widespread that the absence of this painting gave me almost the same feeling as I get when I see a "civilized" lady in a negligee at the wrong hour. The design uniformly used by all members of the female sex, with the exception of children and old women, is completely different from the [Fig. 2 appears here] various types of body painting displayed by the men. It is called ioképaí, while

[192] kuaxiana is the generic term for all designs, including those on plaited objects, gourds, etc. Straight lines stretch down obliquely from between the breasts to the belly and thighs. The latter are

302 [108:124] [Fig. 4 appears here.] I have sometimes seen Tapirapé men whose painting merely consisted of a series of handprints scattered all over the body. They called this vaipapé, a word [192] which may be derived from vaitepe, "many," and pa, "hand."

The Tapirapé often blacken their hands with genipap or outline their mouths with it. In the vuangkané painting (Fig. 2), the man also has a black border around the mouth. This decora- [171] tion is also used by the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 48a). [108: 125] The genipap design on the inside of a man's thigh (Fig. 6) [584] was drawn by his lover at the outset of their relationship. They call it anampaí and maintain that it is a "fish." They also draw

Fig. 3. Ipihaufua male body painting.

it on the arms.

302 981 While the above-mentioned male paintings are worn by the men from their initiation up to the time when they no longer participate in daytime dances, boys have their entire bodies blackened with genipap for a whole year preceding the day of their

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tamplitsia. [412] According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The 301 Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into 297 the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer. When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying [192] which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or emekuanî if a small boy is concerned. Emé means "lower lip" (cheremé, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuanî, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamairí (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

[302] When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation cere- [881] mony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by the men (Photo. 19a). Some of those plugs contain the embedded tooth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, "tampichî" in Tapirapé) (Photo. 55). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. [824] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunks of a tree called tanchimoyva in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great 324 day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi [961] name tembetá, from tembé, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This

[30] word is usually given to all the hard, stiff objects worn by Brazilian
329 Indians in the artificial lower-lip hole, except for the botoque which differs from the tembetá in shape and size (cf. Baldus and Willems 33-34 and 218). [Fig. 7 appears here.] It is true that the Tapirapé
•[192] are unfamiliar with this word and speak only of itachinga, "white
[135] stone," when they point at this quartz ornament. I was told by them that the raw material is found "in large quantities" in a stream they call Tochypíf, which flows several days' journey northwest of Tampiitíua, near Moytíua, the Tapirapé village abandoned in 1932. The specimen I saw (Fig. 7) measured nine and a half centimeters along its full length and four and a half centimeters around the slender part, while the thick part was ten and a half centimeters all around and three and a half centimeters in diameter. It was the only specimen extant in Tampiitíua, and Kamairahó, in whose possession it was, did not want to let me have it at any price. This shows the importance of this ornament in the life of the tribe. Since the tembetá was no longer complete, I asked the Indian Kaniõ to show me how it was worn. It became

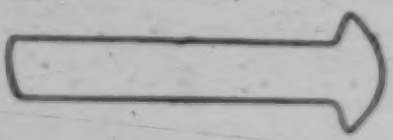

Fig. 7. Ceremonial quartz tembetá.

evident that the thicker part remains outside the mouth, for Kaniõ coated the other end with wax and introduced it into the lip hole (Photo. 2).

In Chapter 4 I mentioned the notices of João Manuel de Menezes,
[71] Aristides de Souza Spinola, Fritz Krause, and Wilhelm Kissenberth
30] concerning the existence of Tapirapé tembetá among the [109:71] Kanajé. The specimen acquired by Kissenberth (2, 72 and Fig. 18) from these Indians, which he reproduces in its actual size, has almost the same length as the fragment I saw in Tampiitíua, that is to say, 8.6 centimeters, and it too is incomplete. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the broadened, convex, plug-shaped end is missing, rather than the securing piece. The latter has the shape of a T, that is to say, it is a crosspiece like those on the

114 trait is as characteristic of northern and central South America
171 as the wooden stool. Its southern boundary, like that of the
952 hammock, is the southernmost region inhabited by the Tupi-Guarani tribes. We find it mentioned, indeed, among the Tupinambá, Caingua, Chiriguano, Guarayú, Yuruna, Chipaya, Curuaya, Auetö, Kamayurá, and Oyampi. Ortiguera lists among
[534] the wooden owned by the Omagua their painted and varnished
[532] stools. Those of the Chiriguano, Caingua, Yuruna, and Kamayurá are made in the shape of animals" [translated from French].

It should be remembered, however, that as Father Wilhelm
114 Schmidt showed on a comparative table, there is a wide variety
171 of types, not only among the benches as a whole but also among
952 those representing animals. One of the latter is peculiar to the
532 Indians of the upper Xingu (Von den Steinen 2, 286-288), to the Karajá (Krause 2, 199), and to the Tapirapé. It consists of a single piece of wood for the seat, and two supporting boards set up as they would be in a sled. Among the Kamayurá, Mehinakú [Mehinacu], and Trumai, however, the representation of birds retains a certain naturalism (cf. Von den Steinen 2, Figs. 82-84), while it is altogether stylized among the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 19), where the ellipsoidal seat of the bench ends on either side in a sort of triangular head with mother-of-pearl eyes supplied with wax pupils, and tameh [111:114] of yellow-red parrot feathers at the ear openings. The bench I saw in Tampiitaua was similar in shape to the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause (ibid.) and was also painted black with genipap juice (cf. Krause 2, 199), but it possessed neither eyes nor ear openings and ornaments. Although its appearance indicated a closer relationship with the stool of the Anguera Indians, its name related it to the Xingu bench. While the Karajá call the stool koliná (Krause, ibid.),
114 the Tapirapé give it the name amyhaua, which in the Tupi of
171 the Auetö and Kamayurá comes out as apyhép (apihép in Von den
952 Steinen's spelling, 2, 286). It is worth noting that a Karaib tribe
●192 in the same region, the Bakairi, use the same Tupi term changed to apyka (apika in Von den Steinen's monograph). The same word, but with the tonic accent on the last syllable, that is to say, apyká, means "bench" in the Tupi-Guarani dialect heard by Montoya (2, I, 100) in the upper Paraná basin, while the Amazon

Nheengatu [Tr., the native name for Tupi, meaning "good language"] language recorded by Stradelli (684) has upikatawa or upikatyua for "bench," and upikawá for the person sitting on it. Claude d'Abbeville (308) mentions among the Tupinambá of Maranhão "very nice little stools which they call Apoycaue" [translated from French].

As far as the function of these benches is concerned, we must take into account the observation relayed by Krause (loc. cit.) that among the Kuruá "they are only for the chiefs," and the note by Von den Steinen (2, 287) that there are not many specimens in existence among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin, but that they are always found in the chiefs' houses where they are offered to guests. (This latter observation is confirmed by Meyer 1, 63.)

Kamairabó was the owner of the stool in Tampiitawa. This man was the most important leader among the Tapirapé, and wherever he went there went the wooden seat as though it were a badge of distinction. Kamairabó took it and sat on the Tampiitawa plaza or outside the village before the little house built and inhabited by my companion Kegal and our camarada Daniel. Only when he was in his own house would he place the stool against the wall close to his net and sit or lie in the latter. As among the Xingu tribes, this "ceremonial seat" was also offered to guests among the Tapirapé. I never sat on it alone, however. Since two people could sit on it at once if they pressed very close together, Kamairabó never granted me more than half his throne. In order to do this, he could not merely move over to the side. He had to stand up and establish with me a complete harmony of movement. For although the horizontal board of the seat was large enough for both of us, the central support, like that of the Kuruá bench reproduced by Krause, was so small, dwindling further toward the ground, that we had to take over our respective halves with the most rigorous synchronization to avoid tipping the seat over and either hitting the floor or being hit in the buttocks by the bench.

Kamairabó and I frequently spent the early hours of the night in such equipoise, while beside [111:115] and before us the other men and boys sat on a tree trunk and the women and girls sat

177 than overcome by habit they bent down until they were squatting
514 again. These inroads on the traditional manner [111:117] of
urinating were repeated on the days that followed. "I urinate"
●[192] is ankurig in Tapirapé. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

A letter from Father Antônio Blasquez, written in Bahia in
000 1557 and included in the Cartas jesuíticas [Letters from the Jesuits]
(II, 173) says of the local Tupinambá: "Their houses are dark,
ill-smelling, and smoky, and in the center stand some jars shaped
like half-troughs that recall the caldrons of hell. At the same
moment, some of the Indians are laughing and others are crying,
so slowly does the night go by in this house, where no one goes out.
Their beds are hammocks rotten with urine, for they are so lazy
that they will not get up to answer the calls of nature." [Ed., two
paragraphs are omitted.]

As far as the Tapirapé are concerned, I may say that I never
514 saw them urinate inside the house and never smelled urine on
their hammocks, which, in any case, were washed in the nearby
stream. To judge the cleanliness of the village as a whole, there is
956 no better authority than that of the mistress of a household in one
964 of the most civilized nations of Europe, namely, the charming
Madame de la Palaise, who writes as follows about Tampiraua
(200): "The general impression is one of stability and cleanliness,
which is not encountered in any of the Caraja villages I visited.
Here, there is neatness. No litter, no thrift-shop jumble, no
tattered witches, no garbage, or broken pottery. Caraja villages
express disorder, laziness, a heedless attitude. They are flea
markets stinking of old fish. The Tapirapé village expresses order.
The basic character of each race is clearly expressed. The Caraja,
000 who camp for five or six months [111:118] at most, delight in the
961 temporary. The Tapirapé, who are much more sedentary, set up
their house for a long time" [translated from French.] [Ed., a
paragraph is omitted.]

Of course, the cleanliness of the Tapirapé has limits which
231 the kindness of Madame de la Palaise does not disclose, but which
964 become apparent when we take a good look at the ground in some
of the photographs reproduced in this work. There is no doubt that
the voracity of the dogs and chickens contributes a great deal to
the cleanliness of the houses and their immediate vicinity, for if it
were not for them, much of the kind of garbage in which they are

interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already mentioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches, which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), incidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauem gnawed them to the bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning" [translated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anauá, and arauí with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial, and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Kaingáng in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings, in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:118] of houses around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

227 consists of cane internodes, slit lengthwise in such a way that a ring of the same material placed across the middle of each internode constitutes, so to speak, the common base of two cones formed by the splayed and distended strips, which remain joined only at the tips of the internode, that is to say, at the two nodes (Photo. 31). The Tapirapé name for this "rod-trap" is chekif-
•[192] nayngaua, and the name of the material used is angkamanchyva, the same kind of cane that is used in making arrows. I must
171 confess that I never saw the chekif-nayngaua in use and have not
227 heard of its existence in other tribes. Among the eastern Bororo, however, there are hair ornaments consisting of cane internodes which are also distended with a ring of the same material and adorned with feathers. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

The strainer (yrupema) of cane strips is used by children and
227 adults of both sexes to catch small fish, as I frequently observed at the village stream. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[112:61] There are couples who go to the fishing waters at
226 night with burning sticks. The fish are drawn by the light, and they are killed easily with a club or bush knife or caught with the hand. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any fishing with nets among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not witness any harpoon fishing among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, I did not see any fishing with the im-
171 plement of small pointed sticks arranged in the shape of a truncated
227 cone, which is called kuru by the Bakairi (Von den Steinen 3, 73, 74, and 236). It is also used by the Tembé (Nordenskiöld 6, 102 and Map 11), but is not found among the Kamaiurá and Kayapó.

To judge by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use fishhooks and
227 do not care much for them as gifts. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

On a lake whose waters had been poisoned by the Tapirapé,
114 the same author [Krause] (2, 409) saw a few light tree trunks
501 bound together, which he assumed had been used for navigation. As I already mentioned in Chapter 2, I found on the Tampiitawa stream a trunk hollowed out in the shape of a canoe, but lying with

its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not from the Kayapó (ibid., 383). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Snaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yara by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,' and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambé's "dream." The people of Tampiitawa often say that they dreamed of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambé was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to certain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambé said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitawa regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambé himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambé held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] anchinga, chanirú [a bird], and inangchá [a fish]. [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

[113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of subsistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitawa do not lead the amphibian life of these big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

1:Baldus--112 E-5 (1935,1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

There were no vestiges of a pair of
231 pigs brought in shortly before that time by a White friend who
[148] hoped to induce the Indians to raise these animals.

I referred to the dogs above when I spoke about hunting. The puppies of those canines of the harrier type were suckled by women, and unfortunately not by old ones, but by the most beautiful girls. In one house, hung alongside the sleeping hammocks, there was even an incredibly small net which was the bed of one of these four-footed children. After a childhood replete with such pampering, however, the dog's life becomes a dog's life. He goes through it hungry, his ribs showing, stealing remnants of human food and sometimes even bananas, and granted as his only truly inexhaustible and non-forbidden means of subsistence the gathering of cockroaches. Just as he must now chew on these bugs instead of sucking on a kind Tapirapé breast, he must, instead of being petted, submit to curses, blows, and kicks, even though they are usually administered with a certain restraint and even gentleness. When, at a male gathering, a man's flatulence gives rise to unpleasant odors, the nearest dog is blamed for it, and the men grunt disapprovingly and kick in the animal's direction, an uncertain kick aimed at the air rather than at the dog.

The chickens are not usually fed by human hands either and
235 therefore resort to hunting the cockroaches which abound on the walls and floor of the house. At night, by the light of the fires, I often saw hens with their chicks walking around the house in search of those bugs. This does not mean that they ate anything else during the day.

Just as dogs are never confined in any way, so do the chickens enjoy complete freedom and at the time of my visit used to roost on top of the houses. Their role in Tapirapé culture is to supply feathers on rare occasions, and even more rarely to supply a dish of meat.

The Tapirapé word for "chicken" is vuyanchampokdinia,
●[192] which corresponds to the *galo capuçaya* listed in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica, which, according to Ayrosa, was probably compiled by Anchieta. [Ed., all but the last paragraph of p. 190 is omitted.]

962 like a turnip, the size of a child's fist, and slightly more pungent
824 in taste than the white carí with which we are familiar; (3) this
[171] same white carí, which was imported from the Whites as is shown by its Tapirapé name of mayrangiaanakuera (mayra, "white man"; kanã, "carí"; kuera, "that was"), often 70 centimeters in circumference, half a meter in length, and tasteless; (4) a third Dioscoreacea, found wild in the forest and called kanachinga or "white carí" in Tapirapé because the tubers are white inside, which is shaped like a carrot, 20 centimeters around, 30 centimeters long, and as tasteless as mairangiaanakuera; (5) a yam that reaches 60 centimeters in circumference and 35 in length (Alocasia spec., iampokumaé in Tapirapé), tastier than the various carí; (7) a smaller yam called uvanchaira in Tapirapé. It is a known fact that the sweet potato and the carí plants are autochthonous to America, while the yams are imported (cf. Hoehne 2, 187). The Tapirapé assert that they cultivated iampokumaé in remote times and remember having received uvanchaira from the Whites.

Hans Staden (v. 3) liked the sweet potato of the Tupinambá
171 and wrote its name as jettihi. The Tupi term was entered in the
824 vernacular as jetica (Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Lingua
•192 Portuguesa [Small Brazilian Dictionary of the Portuguese Language], 5th edition, 1944). Stradelli (500), in his Nheengatu vocabulary, [114:188] listed iatyca as the word for "potato." Incidentally, the Tapirapé plant chetyka only in small quantities. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Aside from the tubers mentioned above, bananas are the vege-
262 table food of greatest importance to the Tapirapé. Like manioc, they are gathered by these Indians almost throughout the entire year. At the time of my visit in July, 1947, however, there were considerably fewer bananas and other foodstuffs in the village than in the months of June to August, 1935. In Chapter 2, it has al-
[192] ready been mentioned that the generic term chatí or tatí, with
[171] which the inhabitants of Tampiniua designate the bananas they cultivate, resembles the Karajá word for this fruit. In Tampiniua I ate the following varieties of this Musacea.

962 (1) A banana 30 centimeters long and from 15 to 20 centi-
824 meters in circumference, the largest one cultivated by the Tapirapé and for this reason called tatahé, that is, the generic term plus the augmentative. The neo-Brazilians of the Araguaia call it

252 cane, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The
262 fruit that supplies this juice reaches 25 centimeters in length, 30
624 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name is koruanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name cruá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Lingua Portuguesa, 8th edition, is synonymous with cruí, crauí, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the canabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (438), curúua is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

Kamaiabé's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to
249 Tampitíua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plan-
263 tation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any.
114 The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent
[171] import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the
[171] Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was maniac and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my rapadura [Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps].

These Indians make beiju (meiji or miji in their language),
252 sometimes with the tapioca extracted from maniac mash, as al-
262 ready mentioned, [114:198] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupi-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'cold,' 'soft,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beiji is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampitíua, I saw it only once. This was on June 28, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of maniac-mash tapioca, made by Anampí, the wife of Tampanchua, in the middle of the uhata. This important man offered it to several of the people present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked
[71] it. Hans Staden (1, 87) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the
252 same fashion with the same material and which their name as beyu.
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[71] According to Karl von den Steinen (2, 339), the Kamayurá voice
●192 a nasalized meiñ, that is to say, almost menñ (meyu and menyu
252 in his spelling). The same author (ibid., Fig. 54) reproduces a
262 spade decorated with geometric designs that was used by these Indians to turn the cakes over. In Tamplitfua I did not see any special implement for this purpose, and in Wagley's collection at the [Brazilian] National Museum there is nothing like it either. [Ed., the last two sentences concluding the section in Vol. 114 are omitted.]

[115:255] To the Tapirapé, the most important vegetable
264 dish is unquestionably cauí.' [Ed., five sentences are omitted.]
171 In sixteenth century references, the intoxicating drinks of the
192 Tupinambá appear as Kaa.wy and Kawi in the spelling of the German Hans Staden (c 2, f 3), Cahouin in Thevet (1, 121), and Caou-in in De Léry (128). The nasalized ĩ indicated by the two
194 Frenchmen, and later pointed out in various Tupi languages by authors coming from different countries, does not exist either in Tapirapé or in Kamayurá, but in both these languages the u in kauí is nasalized, and the i is the tonic syllable (cf. Von den Steinen 2, 213). Furthermore, neither the [115:256] Tapirapé
[278] nor the Kamayurá make intoxicating beverages. The Tapirapé
277 designate with the word kauí their peanut, maize, manioc, cotton-
192 seed, squash, and banana soups, and even straight drinking water
171 (y-kauí), while the Kamayurá use this term for the simple refreshing drink made of water and crumbled beiju (ibid.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The kauí of the Tapirapé is not always made exclusively from
277 one of the plants mentioned above. There are mixtures, such as crushed maize with chewed peanuts or with chewed cottonseed. No other plant aside from those listed are used, however, and no such soups are made, for example, with cauí or yams. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 256 and the first paragraph on p. 257 are omitted.]

[115:257] None of the [early] authors mentions expressly the
[114] three kinds of cauí that are made by the Tapirapé with cotton seeds,
[252] peanuts, and squash. As I have already mentioned, the cotton seeds are chewed with crushed maize. The resulting drink has a yellowish-green appearance and little flavor. It is true that the
171 Tupinambá of Bahia also found these seeds nutritious, but they pre-
252 pared them in a different fashion. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (128)

171 252 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then boiled into a mush which they call mingau."

At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the monovî-
272 kauf was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the first wish I expressed was this, "Monovî-kauf." It is worth noting
114 191 that Gabriel Soares de Sousa (203), in describing the use of the
272 peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash, incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century Portuguese author (ibid., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called
272 gerumás by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made with crumbled squash is called kuruî-kauf. Kuruî may not be
[117] one of the "varieties" of "gerumás" known in Bahia, but like them, in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds
[462] of Tapirapé kauf are crumbled or mashed by the women in three different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands; maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts, and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, amaryîd
• [192] means "I chew," and andjahîb, "I pound." [Id., the last paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are omitted.]

[115:258] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing
252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make cauî, but for the two
[257] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled
[89] manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing children. These children are also given true cauî. It is to be supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to the preparation of their favorite food. [Id., the last paragraph on p. 259 and p. 260, which concludes the section in Vol. 115, are omitted.]

272 [116:10] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

272 Cold cauí, however, is also enjoyed by these Indians. I often saw one of them wake up in the middle of the night and, while everyone slept, take a gourdful of cauí that still stood in a pot removed from the fire several hours earlier. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

To the Tapirapé, the chewed and fermented drink represents not only the high point of festive banquets, but also the pièce de résistance of everyday meals, and its importance is well illustrated 779] by the fact that the flood myth ends with the following words: "When the flood ended, (the survivors) came out from under the earth, and there was cauí and many Tapirapé." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 59, p. 60, and the first two paragraphs on p. 61 are omitted.]

[116:61] To summarize, we may say that the elements of the 171 cauí complex we have studied reveal a close cultural relationship 272 between the Tapirapé and the Tupinambá (1) in the name of the drink, (2) in the important role played by manioc and maize in its preparation, (3) in the above-mentioned three stages in the preparation of the drink, which is fermented by the saliva produced in chewing, (4) in the important role played in the diet by the various kinds of cauí prepared in this fashion. When set off against these similarities, the fact mentioned by certain sixteenth century authors that the Tupinambá, in contrast to the Tapirapé, get drunk on certain occasions is of little importance.

Unquestionably less close than this cultural relationship is that relating the Tapirapé, as far as the cauí complex is concerned, to the Tupi of the upper Xingu basin. The inhabitants of Tamplinfos hold in common with the Kamayurá the name of a non-intoxicating drink, but the manufacture and function of these drinks are entirely different.

Although it would be sufficient to eliminate two consonants [192] from the Karajá word kaluvf to transform it into the word kauí, I dare not build any hypotheses around possible connections between these two words. In any case, kaluvf is to the Karajá not only what cafezinho [Tr., the frequent demitasse] is to the people of São Paulo, but also what kauí is to the Tapirapé, that is to say, an important aliment. There is also a similarity in the preparation of these drinks among the Karajá and the Tapirapé. It is true, however, that the former often omit the mastication. The fact that the various kaluvf I tasted were less thick than the maize, manioc, peanut, and cotton-seed kauí I tried, and different in their composition, does not

171 necessarily mean that Karajá women are unfamiliar with the
272 recipes for these Tapirapé drinks. They might have come to know them through the girls from the Tupi tribe who were abducted by the Karajá at various times and under various circumstances. [Ed., end of Vol. 116.]

[117:91] The Tapirapé do not eat meat raw or rare, but
252 roasted in the embers or broiled, while smaller fish are boiled in a pot. Fish are often tossed whole into the embers, that is, without being gutted. They are left there until they are charred on the outside. This manner of preparing them lends them a delicious flavor. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

"I boil" is avẽn in Tapirapé, "I roast," aihyr, and "I broil," [192] amakaé. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

When studying the widespread distribution of the barbecue in
171 South America, Nordenskiöld (6, 136-137 and Map 12) distin-
252 guished two types, namely: (1) a quadrangular platform of sticks supported by four or, rarely, three stakes, and (2) three sticks set up, like stacked rifles, with a grille laid out between them horizontally. He lists (ibid., 136) the Tapirapé among those having the first type on the basis of the information provided by Krause (2). This author (ibid., 122, 407, 469, Plate 23, and Fig. 269 a-c) found several subspecies of that type with three or four supports, one of the supports being a tree. The stakes were not forked like those of the Tupinambá barbecue of the same type (Staden h 4, [117:92] l 3, m 3, m 2, t 11; Léry 136; Claude d'Abbeville 294), which is apparently identical to those of the Karajá and Javahé seen by Krause (2, 251 and Plate 41). As far as the barbecue is concerned, however, the Tapirapé seem to differ even more from those tribes, since they also possess, as is shown in Photograph 23, the second type distinguished by Nordenskiöld and not mentioned by him as existing among the Tupinambá, Karajá, or Javahé. On the other hand, the same pyramid-shaped barbecue was found among the northern Kayapó (Krause 2, 387 and Plate 23) and the tribes of the upper Xingu basin visited by Von den Steinen (3, 238 and Fig. 38). To summarize, we may say that the inhabitants of Tampinkia use both types of barbecue described by Nordenskiöld, while their neighbors, the Xingu Indians and the Tupinambá, are listed by the same author among the representatives having one type only.

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[122:170] In their manner of eating the Tapirapé retain many similarities with the ancient Tupinambá. As was the case among the latter, the Tamplitama family usually eats together from the same container, which stands in the middle, with the father lying in the hammock and the wife and children squatting on the ground (cf. Gabriel Soares de Sousa 306 and 375; Vicente de Salvador 32). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

These present-day Tupi, like the ancient coastal ones, do not drink while they eat (cf. Vicente de Salvador 33; Soares de Sousa 375; Anchieta 2, 330; Cardim 165; Léry 127). Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé eat "all the time, night and day, at any hour or moment" (Cardim 164), and what Simão de Vasconcellos (p. LXXXV) wrote about these Indians may be applied to these: "Eating time comes whenever nature demands it, as with wild animals; and nature demands it so often, that they eat during the day, and during the night if they must." It so happened that at midnight, when everyone was asleep, my hammock neighbor Kamairabé suddenly awoke because he was hungry. He got up, awakening his wife and children. The woman prepared fish, and finally they all began to eat and to take cauí.

The habit of sowing manioc flour into the mouth is a cultural trait that the Tapirapé share not only with the ancient coastal Tupi (cf. Léry 118-119; Thevet I, 303; Cardim 166; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. LXXXV), but also with the peasants who live near the city of São Paulo. The only difference is that around this modern metropolis the flour is propelled into the mouth with a spoon, while among the Indians this is done directly with the fingers.

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Boiled food is eaten or drunk by the Tapirapé as hot as they can stand it. In this respect they can stand more than I, for example. If the food is still too hot even for them, they cool it off by blowing upon it or, if it is liquid, by stirring it with a gourd.

•[192]

[122:171] In Tapirapé, aã means "I eat," and apé "I drink water," the o sounding almost like a u.

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To obtain clear, fresh water, the Tapirapé dig a hole so close to still water or to the river that the liquid percolates through the dividing wall of earth. The use of this filtering process shows that what Anchieta (II, 330) wrote about the Indians he knew cannot be applied to these: "... they hardly distinguish bad water from good, and are satisfied with any kind." In this respect, the inhabitants of

Yves d'Evreux (110) for the Tupinambá, and by Koch-Grünberg (I, 1, 120) for the Kĩsêdjê of the upper Alto. They could not inhale the smoke as I did. Every time they tried, they began to cough violently. My smoke-swallowing demonstrations, when I released the smoke only after having talked and drunk some water, aroused respectful admiration, but no one dared to emulate me. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, two purposes for smoking tobacco can be clearly distinguished: one that is simply recreative and one that is medicinal. As a medicine, the smoke is blown over painful areas of the body or over the entire body of the patient. A Bakairi told Karl von den Steinen (II, 347) that on the upper Xingu there are two varieties of tobacco, the one smoked for pleasure being much milder than the medicinal one.

To summarize, we may say that the Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the term they use to designate tobacco, in their manner of swallowing smoke, and in the fact that among them only the men smoke. They differ from these Indians, from the Xingu Indians, and from other Tupi tribes in not smoking cigars. The inhabitants of Tamplitinga resemble the northern Karajá and Kayapó in their use of the jequitibá-fruit pipe; they differ from these tribes in their words for tobacco and pipe, and from the Karajá in the fact that only the men smoke in Tamplitinga. [Ed., end of Vol. 122.]

[122.53] Chapter 11

The Life Cycle of the Individual

Birth

In Tapirapé, *aîa* means "I fall" and "I am born" [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the remainder of the paragraph are omitted.]

I did not have the opportunity to witness a birth among the Tapirapé, and I can only relay the information given to me by Reverend Kegel and by the Indians. Childbirth takes place inside the house. While the future father remains in his hammock, the women assist the woman in labor, who is either lying in another hammock with her legs drawn up or supported by horizontal wooden

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of about four, a girl of about 11, and another girl of less than a year. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

We see, therefore, that the Tapirapé resemble the Karajá and Kayapó, as well as Indians of the upper Xingu basin, the Tupinambá, and other Tupi tribes, in practicing the couvade. [Ed., end of Vol. 133.]

[124:138] In Tapirapé, herang means "name" and corresponds to the word héra cited by Montoya (2, II, 154) and céra by Staudelli (413). The inhabitants of Tampilitaua told me that, among them, it is the mother who gives the newborn baby a name and who perforates the lower lip and ear lobes of a boy with a bone pin at dawn of the day following birth. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

No two or more Tapirapé ever bear the same name at the same time. I was able to discover the meaning of only a few. Animal names prevail among the women. In 1935 there was a woman over 40 years old whose name was Puranghaf, that is, "little electric eel." Another, about 35 years old, was called Tamanuaf, or "great anteater" with [124:140] the addition of the diminutive i, and an old woman of about 45 had the name Anampaf, anampá being a fresh-water eel. A girl of 11 was called Chauevuyta, that is, "fresh-water ray," and another girl of six Tauchahá, the name of the white-lipped peccary. In 1947 there was a year-old girl whose name, Kaf, is that of the capuchin monkey. Among the men I only found one in 1935 whose name I could identify with that of an animal, and it was a generic name, Vuyraf, "little bird," a somewhat humorous appellation in view of the man's thick, robust body. Other translatable names, aside from those of animals, are Kanuana, belonging to an eight-year-old girl, meaning "thunder" and "gourd rattle," and the names of two boys I knew in 1947, who were two and four years old, respectively, Tvytaf, "wind," and Ekanuanãhinga, "white boy."

According to Gabriel Soares de Souza (370), the Tupinambá have the names of "animals, fish, birds, trees, foods, weapons and various other things," according to Staden (r 1) of "forest animals," and according to Vicente do Salvador (41) of "animals, plants, or whatever chances to come before their eyes."

This last author also notes about these Indians that "... they do not regard killing as prowess unless they break heads, even

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We may say of the children of that village on the isle of Bananal, of Tampiitaua, and of many other Brazilian Indian communities, what Fernão Cardim (175) wrote with reference to the Tupinambá: "...the boys are cheerful and given to frolic and play with much gentleness and friendship, for among them no evil words are heard, no [127:236] indecencies, nor do they call their fathers and mothers names, and rarely do they disagree as they play, or quarrel about anything, hit each other, or do battle..." Modern authors also speak of the pleasant children they found among South American Indians (cf., for example, Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 147). Small children of both sexes, up to about five years of age, are called <u>antaf</u> in Tapirapé. In Steudel's Nheengatú vocabulary (856), we find the following entry: "Tafia, 'child.' Name applied to both sexes during the first years of life, until they begin to walk and talk, are given a name, and begin to specialize in their respective tasks, at which point the boy becomes <u>cunumi</u> and girl <u>cunhantaí</u>." Aside from these terms, the Tapirapé use <u>aimpyki</u> for the small boy and <u>pirynĩ</u> for the little girl. Yves d'Evreux (98), dealing with the age "levels" among the Tupinambá of Maranhão, writes as follows: "The first level, assumed to be common to males and females as they come out of their mother's womb, is called Peĩan..." [translated from French]. In Montoya we read (2, 384): "A girl, or a boy up to age three, <u>Mitang</u>" [translated from Spanish].

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From about six to around 12, that is, until the girl's first menstruation and the beginning of the boy's puberty, the Tapirapé call the former <u>kunantaí</u> and the latter <u>ekunumĩ</u>. Montoya (2, 1, 383 and 377) gives <u>Cuña taĩ</u> for a "girl up to 10 years" and <u>Cunumĩ</u> for a "youth."

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757 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
787 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or
may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing
at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack
is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipirá kunga*) or gnawing worms
(*anuka or kwai*) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
[755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body
these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of
illness.

757 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in
dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not
be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there
[787] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical
devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

693 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
761 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down
[757] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters'
sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward
whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé
decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-
murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives
are "mad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without
violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of
danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Uru-
kawa and Wantanawa, *pajés* of sufficient power to be suspected of
causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips,
staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[763] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[693 761] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*iwaimuha*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

264 The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
224 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 476 264 551 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.

At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Panañivũãna, Maniitivuéra, Kãuuanõ', Tãuãupéra, Ampirampé, Avãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtáupáũã. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivũnã (a variety of manioc), Ãvãinki' with vũaiki'rã (a variety of manioc). This may be
[771] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
551 476 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tãtáupáũã designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
476 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampiãũa"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement
[101]

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264 574 621 [101] that all participants in the tãtfupãũa [90] are called this. Nothing could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

171 824 [194] The word tãtã is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

[192] The word upãũa means "everything eaten."

The word tatfupãũa may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

264 476 574 [611] Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life. Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.

The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

173 [622] [91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while the second chief, Vũatanamĩ', was a Pananĩvũãna. As I lived in Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

264 476 574 [609] Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers and sisters.

Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life, namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond occasionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from [621] birth to death.

264 574 621 At certain times the entire population of the village gathers together for the tãtãfupãũa, which at such times is not really a feast carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãũihó, or "bad kãũf" (literally, "big kãũf" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the [252] chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũf, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the preparation of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxí were the chief Tanupantxña and Vuiraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairí and the sorcerer--medicine man Manimbó.

In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxña, and Vuirantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxí belong to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirí group has its specific ornament for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxí also wear three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxña are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirí, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as follows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirí is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

[99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the apatxirí. On the previous day, Chief Tanupantxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

/406 cont./ 04

114 course, I cannot state with certainty that all these objects ¾ actually come from the Tapirapé. In particular this cannot be done in the case of the spindle; yet they all have something about them that is more or less foreign to the Karajá.

•192 Of words, I obtained the following through the Karaja in their perhaps corrupt pronunciation: penis cuff, bòòtá; urucú, kìí; tobacco, bàdumà.

114 [131] 4. Observations in Tapirapé territory. In traveling on the Rio Tapirapé I came upon traces of a people who I assume were Tapirapé, for I met them in approximately the region in which, according to the accounts of the Karajá, the Tapirapé were supposed to live; I then crossed the boundary

532

Ill. 266a, b.
Doll of white earth.

114 between the Karajá territory and the Tapirapé territory, as my Karajá companions declared; finally, the number of villages encountered (three) corresponds to that given by the Karajá.

[324] [350] The traces that I came across were the following: on the twelfth day of the river journey footprints on a sandbank; on the thirteenth day a lake blocked off by a fish fence, next to it in the forest a place for roasting food, from which a path led northward over the campo; on the fourteenth day a second roasting place with a campo path; from noon of this day all traces ceased. From the twelfth to the fourteenth day, on the other hand, places of fires, as well as the remains of old lake barricades, were to be seen everywhere.

[See pp 339-337-- Analyst]

[Ed., pp. 87-88 are not translated.]

000 [89] In Mühlmann (p. 344) we read: "In Polynesia, the new year was reckoned from the beginning of the fishing season, and since this period of time coincided with the appearance of the Pleiades above the horizon, a fruitful half-year, mata-iï'i-i-nia, that is, 'Pleiades above,' was distinguished from an unfruitful or less fruitful half-year, mata-iï'i-i-raro, that is, 'Pleiades below.' A Pleiadic year was also known in India."

It is also worth mentioning Métraux's observation (p. 51) that the Pleiades seem to have been the object of special beliefs among the Tupinambá, who were convinced, according to an unpublished manuscript by Thevet, that they fostered the growth of manioc, the staple of their diet. One of the most beautiful legends of the Taulipáng, a Karaíb [Carib] tribe of the Roroima, relates how the Pleiades came to the sky and also mentions their function as heralds of the rainy season that brings an abundance of food with the appearance of shoals of fish moving upstream to spawn (Koch-Grünberg, p. 13).

805 Among the Tapirapé, I did not find anything corresponding to this Indian and Polynesian culture trait [Tr., the Tapirapé do lend importance to the Pleiades]. It is true that of all the events in the yearly cycle, the rainy season is of greatest interest to these Indians. They did not tell me anything about the Pleiades, however. The rainy season is to them the opposite of what it is to the Taulipáng, namely, not the time of well-being, but, in the words of the Tapirapé, the time of evil shadows, of baleful spirits. It is characteristic of the timid nature of these Tupí Indians that they lend greatest importance to the time of greatest distress, instead of centering their thoughts on the dry season, which is to them the pleasant time of abundant vegetable and animal foods and thus the time of health and pleasure in being alive. [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 89 and the first paragraph, as well as the first three sentences of the second paragraph, on p. 90 are omitted.]

[90] The Tapirapé could not tell me the number of days in the lunar month, although they were familiar with the moon cycle and called the new moon txãhi apát, "moon sleeps," or txãhi kantxím, "moon finished," and the full moon ãuvahó, ho being the augmentative suffix, and ãuva corresponding probably to the ãu, "lunar," listed by Montoya, and the yacy icáua, "full, fat moon," given by Stradelli. The first quarter, when the visible part is not yet very thick, is called

821 emeimoorrãmpanẽ, a word that refers to the thin, long tembetá
• 42 [Tr., lip plug] of the boys. To other stages of [91] visibility they gave the names itaxavãhaupũ, evĩyĩr, and akaemorũr, three terms whose meaning I was unable to determine and which must therefore be disregarded until further elucidated.

905 It became apparent that the Tapirapé are not in the habit of
192 reckoning time in terms of lunar months when I attempted to find out the duration they attribute to the span of time corresponding roughly to our year. They distinguished the following three periods: amĩna, "rain," the rainy season; amĩna akãpaẽ, the end of the rainy season; and amĩna apẽm, "rain sleeps," the dry season. They attributed, still with some certainty, about five txãhi akaatxĩm, "moon finished," to the first period, while their computations for the second period varied from one to five, and those for the "sleep of the rain" from three to eight. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

[171] Although they are not unfamiliar with the continuous alternation of day and night, the Brazilian Indians, to my knowledge, do not have words covering those two phases as a unit. The Tapirapé word ĩna merely designates the day from sunrise to sundown in contrast to the darkness of the night, and corresponds to ĩra in the above-cited Tupí dictionaries. For "night" the Tapirapé have the terms kanõk (or kanõk), ĩpĩtũn (or ĩpĩtũnã), and txãhi emĩ (or txãhi ãmĩ), the first one designating nightfall or early evening, the second a dark, moonless [92] night, and the third a moonlit night or moonlight. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

It is not surprising that the concept of "midnight" is lacking among clockless people like the Tapirapé [Ed., the remainder of
114 the sentence is omitted]. The Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica
192 [Vocabulary of the Aboriginal Brazilian Language] lists the word
805 pigcarê with the translation, "the whole night, or throughout the night." I did not hear any similar term in Tapirapé, not even a word similar to pĩhã, another term for "night" listed by Montoya.

The Tapirapé word kaẽm, "daybreak," corresponds to coẽ in Montoya, coẽma in the "Dicionário Brasiliano [Aboriginal Brazilian Dictionary]," coamutu in the Vocabulário na Lingua Brasílica, and coẽma in Stradelli.

For "midday" the Tapirapé said atxavuapũ. Montoya lists açayê, and the Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica, açajê. In Stradelli, the word "middle" is pytera.

According to my Tapirapé informants, "today" is in. "tomorrow" is ãntxeivé, "yesterday" is designated by the number aintxapé, "one," and "day before yesterday" by mokõimi, "two." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the exact and numerical reference to a past event seldom goes farther back than mokõimi, "day before yesterday," since as a rule they do not count to mapõi, "three," preferring to say vuaitĩpe, "much "(in quantity), or mo (or mii), "far away" (a word that designates great distance, in space as well as [93] time, and that is perhaps related to mõmbiri, "far away," in Mõmoyes). Concerning the future, on the other hand, they frequently say ãntxeivé, "tomorrow," although they may be referring to a time later than the following day.

Since not only the computations of time but its direct denominations as well are invariably abstract, however, it is more convenient to the Tapirapé mentality to use mostly indirect designations by grounding the references to past and future times in concrete phenomena. Thus, they indicate the time of day by extending their hand in the direction of the place where the sun was or will be at the time in question. By what I saw, and also by what Krause (p. 339) mentions, the Karajá [Caraja] proceed in the same fashion.

If certain events took place several weeks or months earlier, the Tapirapé pinpoint them chronologically by showing with the hand the degree of development of certain plants at the times in question, for example, the height of maize or sugar cane. If several years have gone by, the Tapirapé narrator extends his hand to the height that a certain person had reached at that time. This person is usually the narrator himself, if his age enables him to do so. If he is about 50 years old and thus stopped growing dozens of years ago, but wishes to indicate an event that occurred five years earlier, he will use a child five years old or older.

It should be mentioned, finally, that the words kaém, "daybreak," and kanũk, "nightfall," are also used for purposes of orientation in geographical space, the former meaning "east" and the latter "west." Judging by the explanations given to me by the Tapirapé, the concepts of "north" and "south" are lacking among them.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
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and evenings suspended in a large Brazilian hammock. In this state of enervation, I must have been the very picture of the languid white man in the tropics. Each late afternoon our house became a gathering place for the Tapirapé villagers, who came not only to visit with me (communication was still difficult) but also with each other, and to gaze upon the belongings of the *navi* (non-Indian). My illness proved to be a boon for ethnographic research. People were more patient with the sick anthropologist than with the well one. They told stories, not only for my benefit, but also to entertain each other. In attempting to explain to me about a mythological culture hero, a man would find himself telling a myth to the attending audience. Thus, I heard (and saw) Tapirapé stories told as they should be—as dramatic forms spoken with vivacity and replete with mimicry of the animals that are so often characters in these folktales. With my still imperfect knowledge of Tapirapé I inevitably lost the thread of the story and it had to be retold to me more slowly.

Champukwi was a frequent visitor during these days of my convalescence. He came each morning on the way to his garden and he became accustomed to drinking morning coffee with us. And, each late afternoon after he had returned from his garden, he came "to talk"—often slowly retelling the stories and incidents that I had difficulty understanding the evening before. Several days during this period he did not work in his garden but sat for two or three hours talking. He learned when he should pause or repeat a phrase or sentence in order that I might take notes. He came to understand what writing meant, discovering that what I wrote in my notebook I could repeat to him later. In time he appreciated the fact that I was not so much interested in learning the Tapirapé language as I was in comprehending the Tapirapé way of life. As so often is the case when a person understands and speaks a foreign language poorly, one communicates best with but a single person who is accustomed to one's mistakes and one's meager vocabulary. Thus, I could understand and make myself understood to Champukwi better than any other Tapirapé. Moreover, because he spent long hours in our house, he was learning Portuguese from Valentim Gomes, and this was an aid in helping me translate newly learned words and phrases in Tapirapé and even helped me understand his explanations of Tapirapé culture patterns. Champukwi thus consciously became my teacher, and others came to realize that he was teaching me. During

morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

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To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *kwaiwahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of